

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT** *FK*

**ROUTING SLIP**

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Remarks 1. This is draft of President's speech to be given Monday night; text is "as forwarded to President." 2. Treat as close hold. 3. DCI received advance copy.

Executive Secretary

*FOR* 9 Sep 85

Date

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7:00 p.m.

September 8, 1985

85-3420

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOUTH AFRICA**  
**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1985**

I want to speak this morning about South Africa -- about what America can do to help promote peace and justice in that country so troubled and tormented by racial conflict.

The system of apartheid means deliberate, systematic, institutionalized racial discrimination denying the black majority their God-given rights. America's view of apartheid is simple and straightforward: We believe it is wrong. We condemn it. And we are united in hoping for the day when apartheid will be no more.

Our influence over South African society is limited. But we do have some influence, and the question is, how to use it. Many people of good will in this country have differing views. In my view, we must work for peaceful evolution and reform. Our aim cannot be to punish South Africa with economic sanctions that would injure the very people we are trying to help.

I believe we must help all those who peacefully oppose apartheid; and we must recognize that the opponents of apartheid using terrorism and violence will bring not freedom and salvation, but greater suffering, and more opportunities for expanded Soviet influence within South Africa and in the region.

What we see in South Africa is a beginning of a process of change. The changes in policy so far are inadequate -- but ironically they have been enough to raise expectations and stimulate demands for more far-reaching, immediate change. It is



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the growing economic power of the black majority that has put them in a position to insist on political change.

South Africa is not a totalitarian society. There is a vigorous opposition press. Every day we see examples of outspoken protest and access to the international media that would never be possible in many parts of Africa, or in the Soviet Union for that matter. But it is our active engagement -- our willingness to try -- that gives us influence.

Yes, we in America -- because of what we are and what we stand for -- have influence to do good. We also have immense potential to make things worse. Before taking fateful steps, we must ponder the key question: Are we helping to change the system? Or are we punishing the blacks whom we seek to help?

American policy through several administrations has been to use our influence and our leverage against apartheid, not against innocent people who are the victims of apartheid.

Being true to our heritage does not mean quitting, but reaching out; expanding our help for black education and community development, calling for political dialogue; urging South Africans of all races to seize the opportunity for peaceful accommodation before it's too late.

I respect and share the goals that have motivated many in Congress to send a message of U.S. concern about apartheid. But in doing so, we must not damage the economic well-being of millions of people in South and southern Africa. If we genuinely wish -- as I do -- to develop a bipartisan basis of consensus in support of U.S. policies, this is the basis on which to proceed.

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Therefore, I am signing today an Executive Order that will put in place a set of measures designed and aimed against the machinery of apartheid, without indiscriminately punishing the people who are victims of that system -- measures that will disassociate the United States from apartheid but associate us positively with peaceful change.

These steps include:

-- A ban on all computer exports to agencies involved in the enforcement of apartheid and to the security forces.

-- A prohibition on exports of nuclear goods or technology to South Africa, except as is required to implement nuclear proliferation safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency or those necessary for humanitarian reasons to protect health and safety.

-- A ban on loans to the South African government, except certain loans which improve economic opportunities, or educational, housing, and health facilities that are open and accessible to South Africans of all races.

-- I am directing the Secretary of State and the United States Trade Representative to consult with our major trading partners regarding banning the importation of Krugerrands. I am also instructing the Secretary of the Treasury to report to me within 60 days on the feasibility of minting an American gold coin which could provide an alternative to the Krugerrand for our coin collectors.

I want to encourage ongoing actions by our Government and by private Americans to improve the living standards of South

Africa's black majority. The Sullivan Code -- devised by a distinguished black minister from Philadelphia, the Reverend Leon Sullivan -- has set the highest standards of labor practices for progressive employers throughout South Africa. I urge all American companies to participate in it, and I am instructing the American Ambassador to South Africa to make every effort to get companies which have not adopted them to do so.

In addition, my Executive Order will ban U.S. Government export assistance to any American firm in South Africa, employing more than 25 persons, which does not adhere to the comprehensive fair employment principles stated in the Order by the end of this year.

I am also directing the Secretary of State to increase substantially the money we provide for scholarships to South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid, and the money our embassy uses to promote human rights programs in South Africa.

Finally, I have directed Secretary Shultz to establish an Advisory Committee of distinguished Americans to provide recommendations on measures to encourage peaceful change in South Africa. The Advisory Committee shall provide its first report within 12 months.

I believe the measures I am announcing here today will best advance our goals. If the Congress sends me the present bill as reported by the Conference Committee, I would have to veto it. That need not happen. I want to work with the Congress to advance bipartisan support for America's policy toward South

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Africa. That is why I have put forward this Executive Order today.

Three months ago, I recalled our Ambassador in South Africa for consultations so that he could participate in the intensive review of the southern African situation that we have been engaged in. I am now sending him back, with a message to State, President Botha underlining our grave view of the current crisis, and our assessment of what is needed to restore confidence abroad and move from confrontation to negotiation at home. The problems of South Africa were not created overnight and will not be solved overnight, but there is no time to waste. To withdraw from this drama -- or to fan its flames -- will serve neither our interests nor those of the South African people.

If all Americans join together behind a common program, we can have so much more influence for good. So let us go forward with a clear vision and an open heart, working for justice and brotherhood and peace.

delivered  
to DCI  
residence  
8 Sept 85

**WASHFAX RECEIPT**

THE WHITE HOUSE

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**URGENT**W  
SITUATION ROOMMESSAGE NO. 643 CLASSIFICATION LINEAS PAGES 5FROM WILLIAM MARTIN / Pearson 456-2224  
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A Ops CenterD Ops CenterREMARKS Ops Center: Please notify principal that  
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